

A N
ANSWER
TO THE
OCCASIONAL
WRITER
N^o. II.

*Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus egit.* Virg. Æn.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,
Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-lane*,
M DCC XXVII.

(Price 6d.)

ANSWER

TO THE

QUESTIONS

ASKED

IN

THE

HOUSE

OF

REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

IN

THE

YEAR

1850



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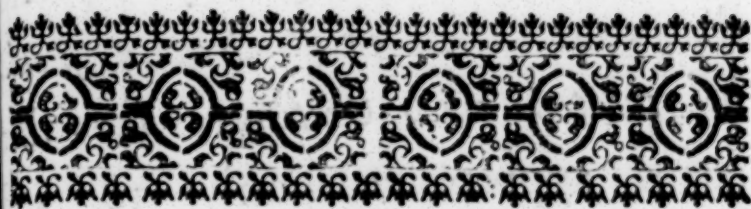
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A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E
O C C A S I O N A L
W R I T E R, &c.

Worthy Sir, my once Rt. Hon. Lord,



O U R Miscellaneous Letter being in print, and addressed to no Body, I thought any Man had a right to Answer it, and the more inconsiderable the more equal a Corresponden-

respondent is he to one of your approved Integrity. I am greatly surprized that your Offers of * *Service* should be treated with Contempt, for that seems appropriated only to real Merit; so that I cannot but impute this ill Success to the great Modesty and Sincerity with which you acknowledged your self † to have taken upon you the Character of an infamous Libeller. But surely your Modesty is extended too far, when you say, that you only take upon your self a Character which was really given you by the universal Consent of Mankind; and I have still a better Opinion of you, since you fairly confess that in this, as upon most other Occasions, instead of

biting

* Pag. I.

† *ibid.*

* *biting others you have bit your self.*

DOUBTLESS by experience you can judge how easy it is for Malice to defame, and how useless a *venal Pen* is; since even that of Men of the greatest Parts was not able to justify the Proceedings of a more *venal Minister*, nor blacken the Glories of a successful War. How often has your Friend *Gulliver* lamented that he could say nothing in *Harry's* commendation, but what must necessarily be taken in an ironical Sense ?

OUR Conversation generally runs upon such Topicks as we are
 B most

most familiar with ; therefore I am not surprized that * *Assassins, House-breakers, Coiners, Informers, Spies, Hireling Scribblers, and Evil Satesmen,* were uppermost in your Thoughts ; were it not ungenteel I would make a Quotation from a Book which you, I'm afraid, have not read since you left School — — *Out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh.*

I N N O C E N C E and Integrity are a kind of Shield that not only defends us, but even retorts the Arrows of Malice upon our Adversaries ; your own Words are a Panegyrick upon him, whom by the tenour of your Discourse you endeavour to asperse ; so that

* Pag. 3, 4.

I would advise you for the future to give Notice when you speak ironically ; for otherwise we may be apt to think that you fight Booty, since you commend your Correspondent for those Qualities which all the World allows him to possess ; for none ever doubted of his * *Zeal to promote the Honour of his M——y, and the Security of our present happy Establishment.*

U S E is a second Nature, and when a Man has accustomed himself to any peculiarity, he naturally falls into it. As in the Country from whence you last came writing Romances is *a la Mode*, your Quill was so used to those genteel

Compositions, that you cannot forbear the Marvellous for a few Pages; and surely it never could have flowed from your Understanding, but only have escaped from your Pen; * *That there was an unwillingness manifested that the true State of the National Debts should be known by the Nation, and that your Correspondent passed a Censure on such Persons as were desirous to give their Countrymen a fair Account of their Condition in a Part so essential.* I have employed two Days, Sir, to enquire into this Fact, and find that no Body knows it but your self, and surely no Man could be severely censured *incognito*? Nor have any Papers or Accounts been kept

* Pag. 5.

kept from their Inspection who have a Right or even a Pretence to demand it. More Papers of Publick Accounts have been laid before the H—— this Session than was ever known, and a State of the National Debt is publicly sold at no higher a Price than 2 s. 6 d. but how impartial it is, or whether the *publication* of this Pamphlet was by your directions, you are certainly the best judge?

IT seems, Sir, to gall you very much, that you cannot abuse the People of *England* with the same ease as formerly; they are not to be twice bit by the same Wiles; they are not indeed so *easy* nor so *willing to be imposed upon*;
nor

nor will they for the sake of a single Person's discontent, precipitate themselves to ruin. It enflames impotent Malice to find that *no Family, no Party*, will adhere to a Man who has abandoned himself. Cicero, with all his Eloquence, could not gain the attention of the People of Rome, after he had only betrayed one Party; and when he found himself so despised that he could scarcely obtain an Hearing, he, in a rage, is said to have spoken in *Greek*; perhaps you thought of this Story when you used the Word *Criterion*: And since you talk in this Strain, give me leave to observe, that the **Criterion* by which our Judgments are formed upon foreign Affairs, is the Integrity and

and Steadiness with which Men act, and a Man to be in fashion with us, must have one at least, if not both these Virtues: As *Cicero* lost himself for want of one of these only, notwithstanding all his other good Qualities; can any one else expect to succeed who does not pretend to either of them?

YOU seem to be writing the History of a Time which I would not willingly remember; when you say, that *Let * a Man declaim imperiously, and assert boldly, without regarding Proof, or condescending to Argue; let one of his Tools write a Pamphlet in much the same Strain, and the Work is done. The Opinion of Mankind is settled; the Crowd re-*

peats

* Pag. 7, 8.

peats what the Orator has said and the Author writ; the Clamour is ecchoed back on all Sides, and these Ecchoes, the reverse of all others, strengthen by repetition; thus the Corrupt lead the Blind, and the Blind lead one another, the still Voice of Reason is drowned in popular Clamour, and Truth is overwhelmed by Prejudice.

THIS is a true Account of what happened in the Year 1713, when *Question, Question, Question,* &c. was all the Reply you vouchsafed to strong Reason and good Arguments; when Numbers were deemed Evidence, and all that the *EXAMINER* wrote was received as Gospel: But I beg pardon for repeating
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an History, which you have written so much better in the above Paragraph: I am only sorry that you have not given us the *several Instances* which you hint at, since in all of them you could doubtless add — — *Quorum pars magna fui*; and consequently must be a fit reporter of them.

I believe, Sir, you with Reason *despond*, if you entertain thoughts of alarming the People, you will toll the *Alarm Bell* in vain, for at most it will only sound your past Actions in your own Ears; You unluckily mention the Word *Crisis*, since it calls to our remembrance a Time when you thought the *Tower* the properest Lodging for

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the Author of a Book with that Title, you were then of far different Sentiments from those which you now boast of, you did not then think it proper * *for every Man to Think, Write, Speak, and Act for his Country.* When you instruct the Government what to do in this critical Juncture, and gravely distinguish your Discourse by *First* and *Secondly*, without any Conclusion, I cannot help thinking of *Æsop's* Fables, where the Wolf very demurely directs the Shepherds which way to preserve the Sheep.

WHAT you *confess* about the Enquiry into the *Conduct*, &c. is begging the Question through the whole; and if to affirm is to confute

* Pag. 10, 11.

future you have certainly the better of the Argument, since you roundly affirm, * *That Fallacy, Sophistry and puerile Declamation swell the elaborate Treatise*, without producing any one Instance; and with your usual Candour you condemn the Measures which he defends, without proving any Thing against them.

You seem to be extremely fond of Metaphors taken from Storms and Shipwrecks, which I suppose are meant for the Advantage of your Bookseller, by swelling your elaborate Treatise to Price One Shilling, and by this Means improve the Salary of the only Employment you can now bestow;

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and

and out of this Principle of Generosity to your Retainer, no doubt, your long Degression is owing, if any Part may be called so where the whole is nothing to the Purpose.

I began to read this with great Care, and it had so good an Effect upon me, that it threw me into a gentle Slumber; when I awoke I went to it again, and find that by the whole if you have any Design at all in it, your Aim is to make Monarchs contemptible, and to set the greatest Characters upon a Level with your own. You rail from the Time of *Hen. VII.* down to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, excepting the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, where
you

you seem to have copy'd in Prose the Ballad, *In good Queen Bess's golden Day's*, &c. She (you tell us) supported *France* against the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, and was the Occasion of her Wars was to support *Trade*, and maintain the *Ballance* of *Europe*. This you commend in her, at the same Time that you blame those who pursue the same Measures.

* IN treating of the following Reigns you make great Use of a modern Figure of Rhetorick called *Billingsgate*; and where you talk of *abad head and worse heart*; you seem to describe a Gentleman who some Years ago contended strenuously for the Respect due to crown'd Heads, but,

but who by his Conduct since has demonstrated, that he meant such only as would be content to wear his Fool's Cap: And sure you forget who is descended from *James I.* when you say that you cannot read *his Reign without a Mixture of Indignation and Contempt*; but this and your following Reflections, require another Kind of Answer—

I was greatly pleased when I came to your 29th Page, and found that you aim'd at something; for there you promise to *fix the Application of the whole of your Discourse to the present Conjuncture*; but such is my Ignorance that tho' I ran over your whole Book; I cannot find whereabouts you have done it, so that

has that I imagined that you forgot
 what you were about in that Cloud
 of Words, which thro' the whole
 Work obscures your Meaning.

I agree with you * *that whenever
 this Ballance is in real Danger by
 the exorbitant Growth of one Power;
 all other States ought to join in Mea-
 sures for their common Security:*
 but immediately after you make a
 Distinction where I fear there is
 none, viz. *That they ought to pro-
 portion their Measures, not according
 to the Nature of the Danger consider'd
 generally, but according to the imme-
 diate or remote Relation which it has
 to each of them, &c.* Now the ge-
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 if

* Pag. 33:

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 lation to every particular State, since
 if

* Pag. 33:

if the whole is in Danger, every Part is in Danger, or else *Aristotle* is mistaken. But taking it for granted that each State is only to consider *the immediate or remote Relation* which it has to each of them; In the late War *England's* Danger from the *French* was not very *remote* since they not only promoted our civil Discords, but threatned us with open Invasions. At the Conclusion of the Peace we were in more *immediate Danger* from them, since to your Knowledge, Sir, one of our Ministers received 50,000 Pistoles from Mr. *de Torcy*; but the rest (to their Honour be it spoken) refused Mony, tho' most of the Blame was laid on them. And I believe you your self can testify that

that if the late King of *France* had lived, the *Protestant Succession* had been in very *immediate* Danger. The abandoning of the *Catalans*, for which the above Sum was in Part given, was indeed a *remoter* Prejudice to *England*, tho' it was an *immediate* Infamy, and in a great Measure the Occasion of the present War: For had *Barcelona* and *Majorca* continued free from King PHILIP'S Power, and under the *English* Protection, the *Spaniards* would scarcely have ventured upon a War whilst they had such a Thorn in their very Bowels.

THIS is not that I would blame or justify the Treaty of *Utrecht* since I think it entirely forreign to the
D Purpose

Purpose in Hand, which as you say is to fix the *Application of the whole to the present Conjuncture* ; But this Application has escaped your Memory, for you have not said one Word of the present Situation of Affairs, and your Pamphlet concludes with an Account of the Guarantee of the *Neutrality of Italy*, and with some Reflections upon the Easiness of maintaining that Treaty. In this, Sir, you agree with your Correspondent who was ever against violating that *Neutrality* ; and was so zealous for not delivering up *Sicily* to the Emperor, that he was threatned with the *Tower* for the Freedom then used in Debate ; and you your self blame him in your former Paper for his too strenuous

strenuous Opposition upon that Occasion.

WHAT you chiefly blame in your Correspondent is, that we shou'd be reduced to that Condition to which all the States in the World are liable, *viz.* * *That we must fight to Negotiate, and Negotiate to fight again.* But whether Negotiating or Fighting is next to be our Fate, I wou'd gladly know if you expect to be employ'd; for then I could guess at the event without conjuring; since the World is fully persuaded that in either of these Capacities you are equally capable of serving your Country.

IN short I am at a Loss to deter-

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* Pag. 34.

mine how what you have formerly done and said can agree with what you now urge, and how all these various Opinions which have been entertained by you at several times can be shuffled together. Nor can I make your Writings any more of a Piece than your Actions: For there is but one thing to which I can by any Means prove you to have been steady, and that is very elegantly expressed by your self where you tell us, That * *He who keeps his own particular Interest constantly in view, has an invariable Rule to go by:* To which generous Maxim no Man ever questioned your Adherence; since thro' all the various Changes in your Life you ever steered to that Point: So
that

* Pag. 34.

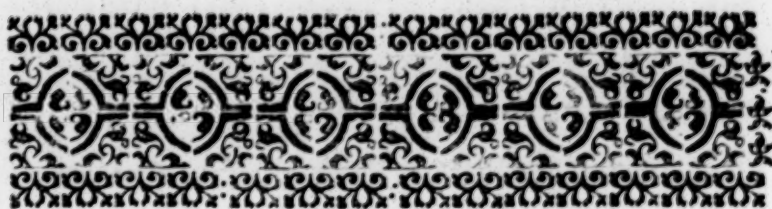
that if you want a Motto when
your Arms are new blazon'd, you
may make Use of that which you
once put to a Weather-cock ; and
take

Semper idem

by way of Gloss to

In utrumque paratus.

F I N I S.



APPENDIX,

BEING THE

ANSWER

TO THE

Occasional Writer.

N^o I.

DEAR SIR,

I Cannot make you too early, nor too ample acknowledgments, for the unlimited tender you are so kind to make me of your service as a writer: And though you scrupled signing your Name, yet the master-like strokes, with which you have delineated

ted your picture, hindered me from being one moment at a loss to guess whose it was. The ingenious confession you make of being never actuated by any principles that sway the honest part of mankind; your having no regard to publick or private faith; your setting at nought fidelity to particulars; allegiance to Princes; love to your Country; together with all obligations promises, oaths, and the rest of those foolish ties, that bind weaker minds, and give laws to narrower Genius's; are marks by which it was impossible not to distinguish you. For tho' here and there, there may be some worthy Gentlemen, who may resemble you in this or that particular feature; yet the beautiful assemblage of them all is what you alone, Sir, can pretend to be master of.

WHEN you say your first aim was to raise your reputation, I cannot sufficiently applaud your dexterity in making choice of that ambiguous word; since it fully prevents the most detracting

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ing disposition from asserting with the least colour of truth, that you have missed of that aim: And if the method you pursued to establish it, had fully succeeded, according to your laudable and salutary schemes for this nation; History could not have furnished two heroes, worthy of making up a Triumvirate with you, if the names of *Herostratus* and *Nero* had been lost.

BUT I cannot help remarking the too unfortunate exreams, to which this thirst of reputation and injudicious ambition, have alternately brought you: Since they first mounted you to a dangerous height, where the ignorant only envied you, and have since plunged you in an abyss, where the weak can only pity you.

WHEN you boast that the first essays of your Pen made a good deal of noise in the world, you do your self but justice; not only the *Sorbonne*, but all *France*, and *Rome* it self had reason to resound your praise and pay their humblest acknowledgements for the signal service you did them in those disputes you reconciled. But what your own country owed you, for the differences you composed abroad, and fomented at home, I believe you would not be so glad to claim, nor was it your modesty only that made you decline the reward she was preparing to bestow.

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A s

As to your conscience which you would so generously give up to my keeping, I think my self unspeakably obliged to you for so kind an offer. For tho' most ambitious people would be glad to part with that impertinent monitor, because they are apt to find him now and then a little troublesome, yet you have given such incontestible proofs of this not being your case, that I can never thank you enough for devoting to my service so indulgent a friend, and so tractable a companion : But unless you could divest me of my own and my reason to boot I fear I should not be able to make much use of this assignment.

UPON the whole, Sir, I cannot but bemoan our mutual Loss, that where there is so good a disposition to do me service, there should be so little ability. What would the World say of my cause if I should take a step that would betray my thinking it so desperate, as the calling in emancipated Slaves, proscribed Criminals, or insolvent Debtors, to support it? These Methods you know Sir, are accounted as evident Marks of despair in Politicians, as the prescribing *Kensington* Gravel-Pits, or Pigeons to the Patient's Feet, are of despondency in Physicians: And was I so near sinking as to catch at such Reeds to support

port me, yet I fear I should find the Qualifications you boast of to recommend you, as little useful to a Minister, as you found them in one.

WHEN MENAS the freedman of Pompey the younger, a man of parts without probity, and enterprizing without conduct, revolted first from Pompey to Octavius, then from Octavius to Pompey, and then from Pompey to Octavius again; you may remember what was the consequence of receiving and listening to that Fugitive, and from thence may learn the reasons why I can never advise * * * * * to do otherwise by you, than *Augustus* at last did by him; who, according to the laws of War, reaped the allowed benefit accruing from the treachery of that shameless deserter, but, never, put it in his power a second time to betray him.

NOR do I speak my single sentiments upon this occasion, but those of the whole nation: for believe me, dear Sir, (as hard a task as it is) you have united the opinions of mankind with regard to you, and the decent contempt, which the better sort of them express for you, is as strong a mark of dislike, as the grosser railing of the other: This being the case,

Palinurus must be very drowsy indeed, if he could consent to trust the rudder one moment in the hands of such a Deputy, and would deserve to find that pilot's fate; a terrible one indeed, but not the worst; for who had not rather perish singly without involving the crew committed to his care, than sink all those poor confiding wretches, who had set him at the helm, and by a shameful scramble save his own wretched Life, and swim to shore?

AFTER giving you my reasons for not accepting your future service, I think my self obliged in gratitude to thank you for the good turns you have already done me. Your kind information of what is laid to my charge in the company you frequent (if it is not merely the consequence of your natural propensity to telling) is a mark of favour that claims my warmest acknowledgments: And when you next assemble that candid body, you will oblige me in telling them. I am as far from fearing the justice of any * * * * scrutiny into my conduct, as I am from being hurt by the unjust reflections thrown out by those whose private envy is their only motive for publick censure; and what-
ever

ever contradictions these Gentlemen may have observed in my character; there is one which I'll venture to assure you, you will never discover, which is my ever being alarmed at an opposition from one in the impotence of disgrace, who could never terrify me in the Zenith of his prosperity.

As to those wondring people who affect so much surprise at these changes in our Friendships and our Enemies abroad, that *France* should be now our dearest Friend, who was heretofore our most dreaded Enemy; and that the Emperor, who was solately our darling Ally, should now become our most formidable Foe; the answer to these Gentlemen is a very plain and short one, 'tis not the Emperor, nor *France*, nor *Spain*, nor this, nor t'other Potentate, to whom we must keep up a perpetual opposition. grant a constant assistance: Power will always be fluctuating amongst the Princes of *Europe*, and where ever the present flow of it appears, (especially in open and direct Violations of our just rights) there is our enemy, there the proper object of our fears. And I can never think our having once lent a hand to raise the Emperor, is any argument why we should suffer him afterwards to climb what heights he pleases, at the expence
and

and upon the ruins of this nation: The same Policy that suggested the one, justifies our putting a stop to the other; and I hope as he found our assistance not unavailing in one Situation; he may prove our opposition not insignificant in the other: And that we may be able to set some bounds to his acquisitions, if we can't to his ambition. And therefore you will pardon me, Sir, for still differing from you as I have always done in foreign affairs; and for not thinking, that when our most valuable branches of trade are usurped, our possessions attacked, and our present happy establishment in the Protestant line threaten'd without provocation, and in defiance of the most solemn Treaties, we are in this case to sit still, and wait to see whether other Princes and States will quarrel and fight among themselves for our interests; and, remaining entirely indolent and indifferent our selves, leave to chance and the care of other powers such inestimable blessings, upon the preservation or loss of which, the riches, strength and security of this nation so immediately and essentially depend. But as self-love naturally disposes men to like those best, next to themselves, who resemble them most, I do not wonder at your having for the
Emperor,

Emperor, whom you formerly so much abhorred, so great a concern and friendship, since he has acted so ungrateful a part towards this nation; and, by the same rule of good Principle and Honesty, at your appearing now so inveterate against *France*, which so kindly received and entertained you when your guilt made you fly your own country.

IF you will be so good to give these things in answer for me, whenever you hear me attacked upon this head, it will be all the service I shall ever desire you to do me, and all the employment I shall ever trouble you with.

I know how natural it will be for a Gentleman of your restless spirit, upon this repulse to turn the point of your zeal (*in utrumque paratus*) against the breast of him, in whose defence you offered to draw it: But I shall have many fewer apprehensions in making you my enemy, than I should have had in receiving you as a friend; because 'tis well known you are as harmless in one capacity as you are dangerous in the other.

I must inform you too, that if you design to be very scurrilous and abusive in your invectives, your changing your name in libels, as often as you have done your party in politicks, will not
preve...

prevent your being discovered. When *Proteus* try'd successively the Flame, the Lyon and the Bear, to intimidate *Aristaus*. He was known baffled, conquered, and contemned in every shape; and found it as impossible to avoid doing his Victor the service he required of him, as you will find it to make me accept, or think I stand in need of any you can do me. I am,

S I R,

Your most Obedient.

F I N I S.

